291

/412 cont./
in the Wulaia region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The otter and the fox [224] are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned cus- [462] tom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the woman. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing pressing tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

291 When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort
224 to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or related species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell [412] serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely, /413/ but thrusts his knife in so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins above at one edge of the skin or the other and, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he peels it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are peeled out intact from the joints under the skin which has been severed all around, and thus they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/413 cont./

281 carcass lies on the outspread skin from which it has now been
224 separated. He sees to it that only thin remnants of the layer of fat cling to the skin; they are wasted as food since he does not scrape them off later. He then peels off the thick subcutaneous layer of fat all around the carcass, going over it up to four more times, in the form of shreds as large as the palm of one's hand, which the women and children carry to the hut. It is only then that he opens the abdominal cavity, takes out the entrails, along with the stomach and lungs, which he tosses to the dogs or throws into the water, and reserves the heart for himself. Turning the carcass, he lets the blood flow out, and finally he cuts it into several large pieces.

281 As soon as circumstances permit -- a few days do not matter -- the skin is dried. Until then caution must be exercised so that the dogs do not chew on it. The man takes charge of stretching it. First he cuts out the four flippers which are still hanging in the skin, and his wife immediately sews up these holes with strong tendon fibers. Along the outer edge of the skin he punches small holes a finger's length apart. Rods about as thick as a finger are fixed into the holes under tension and from one side of the skin to the other, lengthwise and crosswise. The rods are crudely pointed and protrude only a little beyond the hole. There is more tension on the thicker sticks than on the thinner ones, but all are turned and pushed in such a manner that there are no wrinkles in the entire stretched skin. Irregular and confused though this basketwork is in appearance, the skin itself is evenly stretched throughout.

It is leaned against the outer wall of the hut to dry. A protruding stick is pounded into the earth, so that the stretched skin stands upright and both sides are exposed to currents of air. The basketwork is put on the inner side, not the hair side, to keep it from getting soiled, since many remnants of fat still cling to it. The moving current of air dries the skin quickly, hence it makes no difference if the piece of leather is often rained on while it is still soft. If it were dried in front of the fire, parts of it would shrink or even rot, and it would become distorted; therefore the Indians do not try it. After two to three weeks, depending on the time of the year and the thickness of the skin, it is so stiff and

/469 cont./

411 bark, into which they also set a narrow bottom piece of bark. They sew up the edges with strips of wood fiber or whalebone, like those of a water scoop made of bark (Fig. 30). Naturally, this quiver, which, like the one of leather, is called hilix, is less resistant and durable.

It need not surprise us that not a single one of the earlier navigators, nor a visitor from more recent times, with the exception of Martial:192, mentions the quiver, the latter being subsidiary to bow and arrow. Even the arrow is not mentioned by many. The illustrations of bow, arrow, and quiver given in Volume I, 231, 239, and 240, could, without objection, also be used for these implements of the Yamana. With the exception of minor details, they show in general what these objects were like among the southern Fuegians. Formerly there were plenty of men capable of making these things for their own use. [439] It is also undeniably certain that the eastern Yamana obtained them through barter from the neighboring Haus or Selk'nam.

They are very serviceable in hunting on land as a long-range weapon against guanaco. For this they are not excelled by any other weapon of the Yamana. On the other hand, it is not easy to manipulate them in a rocking canoe, /470/ and from this vantage point a practiced archer can use them effectively only against otter. A person on land has a better chance to catch birds with the sling and the snare, and sea lions with the club. Moreover, the Yamana do not like to go far from the coast. It is only in cases of particular necessity that they push deeper into the woods where none of their weapons would be easy to manage.

224 441 In view of local conditions, we realize that the bow and arrow cannot be recommended for general use and that it is really suitable only for hunting guanaco. The range of this animal, however, ends with the central Yamana. In view of this, the bow and arrow were used most of all in the east and less in the west where the guanaco is wholly absent. Here these weapons were largely used for hunting otter, and this explains why, with the progressive adoption of the dog, they lost importance. These changes in the economy of the Yamana cannot be discussed until later; they deserve attention for several reasons.

/534 cont./

223 men about this. They assured me that an arrow was much too precious to their ancestors to waste it on a bird, and that the other implements proved more effective for catching birds.

Naturally, there is a difference in the frequency with which the various methods are used in various regions. The decisive factor is the special type of bird and the Indian's desire for variety in his monotonous diet. Every man is more or less skillful in all the various maneuvers and therefore probably always successful. In particular details the Yamana frequently proceed exactly like their neighbors on the Great Island (Vol. I, 282).

A prevailing habit among our Fuegians is that every man eviscerates on the spot the birds he has caught. He places the animal on its back, opens its belly with a knife or a sharp mussel shell, and pulls out all the internal organs with a single movement. He almost always finds water close by, which he scoops up with his hand, rinsing out the abdominal cavity of the bird.

[482] He pulls a leather strap through the beaks and either ties it around his hips so that the birds encircle his body or he places it over his shoulder so that the birds are evenly distributed front and back. In this way he always has his hands free, for it is possible that other prey will cross his path, which he does not want to escape and which he must pursue without losing a moment of time.

4. Hunting Guanacos, Otters, Foxes

224 Although the Yamana sometimes hunt the guanaco, the otter, and the large fox, they do it not so much for their meat, but chiefly, and in the case of the last two species, exclusively, for their skin. The way they capture these mammals remains to be described.

The guanaco (Lama huanachus) lives only in the eastern part of Yamana territory, on both shores of Beagle Channel, approximately from Puerto Brown or Puerto Harbertón on eastward and throughout Navarino Island. The hunter attacks the ame[illegible]a on

[231] foot, for his dogs are only now and then trained for this and as a rule do not help him much. Hence several men always band together for a hunting expedition. /535/ They take advantage of

/535 cont./

224 the habits of the guanaco, with which they are very familiar (p. 34 /untranslated/). It is well known that the animal lives in small herds. In summer it prefers to remain on the wooded heights, but seeks out the plains and valleys when it goes for water. It always uses the same path which, through much traffic, is easily discernible to the hunter. Several men, somewhat hidden and many meters apart, station themselves along this trodden path and wait until the guanacos pass by. The animals either come of their own accord or a man with his dogs has previously, in a roundabout way, climbed the height and herded several guanacos onto this descending path. If they are pursued, they always head for the lowlands. When they come walking along, one animal close behind the other, one of the stationed men will throw his javelin or his small harpoon against a guanaco. The animal that escapes one hunter will be struck down by another, for the men are all standing along one line. Each man tries to hit the animal directly behind its shoulderblade, since a wound in this vital spot will quickly bring it down (see Bove in MM:XVII, 279;1883).

Now and then a few men will also set out with bow and arrow. They take along trained dogs which climb a height and drive the hunted animals toward the hunters. Guanacos escape from the dogs only by fleeing down the mountain. The hunters listen for the barking of the dogs and try to kill the pursued animals. The Yamana hunts them almost exclusively in the cold season, because the guanacos seldom leave their mountain heights in summer, but in winter their presence near the beach can be seen by their tracks in the snow. The Yamana does not like to venture far from the coastline, in which case he would have to leave behind his hut, his canoe, and his family. According to BD:528, Tūmūmalagōna means "to hunt guanaco with dogs" /cited in English/.

Apparently the eastern Yamana, under pressure of necessity, even tried their luck at a guanaco hunt (258), but in general they

258. This is to be inferred from a statement by Despard (VP:VI, 52;1859).

did not decide to do this very often. This type of hunting is too

/535 cont./

224 difficult for them, and the slight success does not repay their efforts. They are less accustomed to prolonged marches through high snow in the forest than the Selk'nam, and since they usually do not have trained dogs, they do not even come near guanacos. Certain conditions, which Fitz-Roy (a):186 enumerated in his day, make this hunt easier in the winter. At other times of the year "they sometimes get them by lying in wait, and shooting them with arrows, or by getting into a tree near their track, and spearing them as they pass beneath the branches" /cited in English/.

Nevertheless, some men enjoy this hunt, even exerting extreme efforts to kill the animals and letting no obstacle discourage them. This may be /536/ inferred from a long description which Bridges (MM:XII,13;1878) wrote down on July 7, 1877 (259),

> 259. Hyades (q):356 also mentions the hunting of guanaco by the method which we spoke of first. Lothrop (b):153, without substantiation, speaks of a "Guanaco-spear" /cited in English/. The method of hunting that he describes also seems to me improbable: "To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him" /cited in English/.

Whereas the eastern Yamana enjoy the meat of a slain guanaco, the people of the south and west often hunt otters (Lutra felina), but only for their fur. In exceptional cases when there is a period of severe famine, their meat is also eaten. We can distinguish clearly by size and coloring (260) between the regular small otter,

> 260. Weber reports in detail on the habits and distribution of these two types, also in the methods of capture by Indians and Whites. One can recognize the smaller land-otter by its shrill, almost whistling tone, and the larger sea-otter by its muted, more grunting tone.

/536 cont./

224 aujlăf, and the sea otter, ăjapux. If the Yamana wants an otter, he is almost always dependent on the help of his dogs, but he himself discovers and lies in wait for it, since the Fuegian dog does not have a sufficiently sensitive nose for hunting in the water. The hunter recognizes the nearness of an otter by the fresh remnants of sea urchins on the beach. Led on by this spoor, he gets into his vessel on a sunny, calm day. He always keeps close to a coast with rocks and large stones. Long practice has given him a sharp eye, and he looks out in all directions.

Wherever an otter comes up from the water to breathe, the Indian hurries up to it. It is, of course, the woman who rows the canoe swiftly and silently while the man stands in the bow and keeps his weapon ready. When he is close enough to the otter to hurl the harpoon successfully, he tries to do so. If the animal was mortally hit, it is easily lifted into the canoe. Even a skin with holes in it is better than nothing for the Indian, because he can always use individual small parts in one way or another.

224 231 Otherwise the otter hurries to shore and seeks refuge in its lodge. It is only now that the Indian lets his dogs, which have been watching the otter all the time, leap into the water and follow its spoor. Soon they discover the lodge, and one of the dogs goes in. If he should not venture to do so, his master forces him into an entrance. Inside a severe battle immediately develops. The dogs always attack the otter head-on. They try to bite its face. After a struggle they succeed in sinking their sharp teeth into the otter's brain, killing it instantly.

The otter resists furiously throughout the entire fight, and whistling loudly, he stands his ground against the dogs. Usually he lies on his back and turns his head as fast as lightning in all directions. He bites and tugs his attackers quite pitilessly. The dogs are trained not to grasp the /537/ otter anywhere except on their heads. If possible, the valuable skin is not to be riddled with holes by their teeth. Inevitably the dog receives many severe and deep bites, for the nimble otter knows how to defend himself successfully, but usually the dog wins and the otter seeks a last refuge in flight from the lodge. Outside, however, there are not only other dogs waiting, but the Indian himself. He finally succumbs to so many opponents, even if the hunter has to hurl a spear at him. Also, even the hunter leaps on the otter, grasps him, and strangles

/537 cont./

224 231 him without fear of painful bites. When the animal is sufficiently exhausted or if it might still escape, the hunter takes it by a hind leg and, swinging it high into the air, beats it against a large stone on which its head is shattered. Afterwards, when the dogs whine with pain for hours or are lame for days, one realizes what a pitiful condition they are in (261). They are the ones that

261. See the accounts of Hahn in Hyades (q):363 and of Weber, passim.

overcome an otter and thereby perform an indispensable service for their masters (262). The otter skin is preferred for clothing

262. Dabbene (b):185 and Hyades (q):353 overlook the fact that in the otter hunt the dog is the decisive factor. Hyades (g):35 writes somewhat more accurately elsewhere.

(p. 57); that is why one Fuegian or another will hunt these animals.

We cannot speak of an actual fox hunt. Hyades (h):21 gave a not altogether reliable explanation in the following words: "The Fuegians...replied that their dogs hunt the foxes alone, that they track them down and, after having killed them, bring them back to their masters...Moreover, it is believed that they do not care much for fox hunting; they do not like to eat its meat" /translated from French/.

The large fox (Canis magellanicus) on the southern shore of Isla Grande and the small fox (Canis griseus) on several islands are known as čilaája; both species occur only here and there (p. 35 /untranslated/). No Indian bothers about them or hunts them with traps or bait. He has no special use for the skin; hence he does not make special weapons for the fox hunt. Actually it is only the keen scent and the power of the dogs which occasionally track down a fox. If the Indian deduces this from his dog's behavior, he lets himself be led to the place where the dead fox is lying. His dogs are not well enough trained to carry the booty to their master by themselves. Usually the battle takes place between a fox in his lair and several dogs that have discovered him there. He succumbs

/537 cont./

224 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the 23/ Indian has skinned the fox, he tosses the entire body to his dogs; he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /538/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

5. The Woman in the Food Quest

462 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the man, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

/938 cont./

X881 his words to indicate that he was now beginning the dance. Then he called: "The people here are beginning to get up, they are all in considerable motion!" He was answered: "awá!" The dance lasted about 20 minutes. Immediately all the uwáala left the čixaus hut and hastened into the forest for wood (359).

X881 224

359. One should keep in mind the following custom. Two or three men, on repeated occasions, lead a small group of three to five candidates to hunt. If they set out to kill guanaco, they are gone at least two days, during which time they, of course, spend the night out-of-doors. Wherever they settle down for a longer or shorter rest, the leader watches carefully so that no intruder may approach. He often utters loud cries of ho-ho, which warn any stranger. For his part the guard at the Great Hut observes the movement of the people over in the camp and with loud cries warns anyone who sets out in the direction of the candidates. This applies to brief as well as to long outings by the candidates.

X881 The winefkéra called loudly: /939/ "It seems to me a few of you over there are watching [as the candidates leave the Great Hut]." They replied: "pšf, no!" Nevertheless, he repeated: "Take care that no one looks!" Response: "awá!" After a short pause he requested formally: "I should now like to eat something!"

X881 182 While the low singing continued, old Clara spoke: "Nowadays the uwáala are not as thoroughly taught as formerly. They scarcely learn [in detail] our old laws and institutions. This is because the older people take no interest in teaching the uwáala the essentials. We ourselves have become negligent and careless. For us personally this is a great disadvantage, too. Today almost every Yamana leads the life of the Whites; none of our younger people thinks earnestly anymore about our former customs and our old laws. If this [attitude] continues, the good old tradition will soon be completely lost and we shall cease being true Yamana! We must

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

barbed head (*awaía*) was used (fig. 81, *a*); in the west a double-barbed form (fig. 81, *b*) was employed. In both regions, however, the head had a flat-base tang with an expanded foot.

In assembling the weapon, the tang of the spearhead was inserted in a slot which ran completely through the head of the shaft, where it was loosely lashed by an encircling seal-hide thong (*tuwawáru*). It was held in place by a second thong (*tamutú*) tied to the tang and attached to the shaft two or three feet from the head. As illustrated in fig. 82, *a*, this thong was twisted until its length was lessened and it acted as a spring to hold the butt of the tang firmly against the bottom of the slot in the spearhead. The tension of this thong was a matter of constant adjustment, for it varied according to the wetness or dryness of the thong and even with the state of the weather.

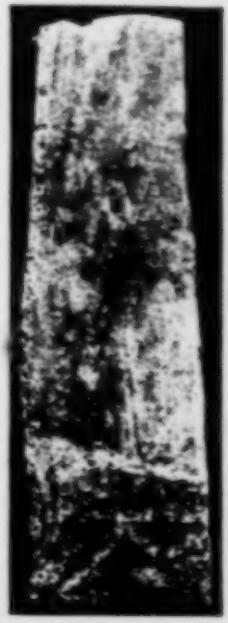

FIG. 83.—Yahgan spearpoint case. Height, 14 in. (14/2370)

When the seal-spear had been buried in the flesh of a porpoise, whale, or seal, the point promptly pulled out of the socket and the shaft then acted as a drag, as shown in fig. 82, *c*. But owing to the fact that the thong from the shaft to the head was tied near one end of the shaft, it dragged at an acute angle, so that sufficient pressure to break the thong or the shaft was not produced. The Yahgan apparently did not employ inflated skins or bladders for this purpose.

3. GUANACO-SPEAR.—In the eastern part of Beagle channel and on Lennox and New islands the Yahgan hunted the guanaco with a special kind of spearpoint (*tuunaí*), shown in fig. 81, *c*. It resembles the seal-spear in having a single barb, but lacks the projection seen on the seal-spear's tang. It was lashed on the light hexagonal shaft of a fish-spear. This kind of weapon apparently was in use only among the eastern Yahgan, for it was unknown to Messrs. William Bridges and Fred. Lawrence. The example illustrated was obtained from a Lennox islander. To spear guanaco the animal was chased into a swamp or else the

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S386 Yahgan S386

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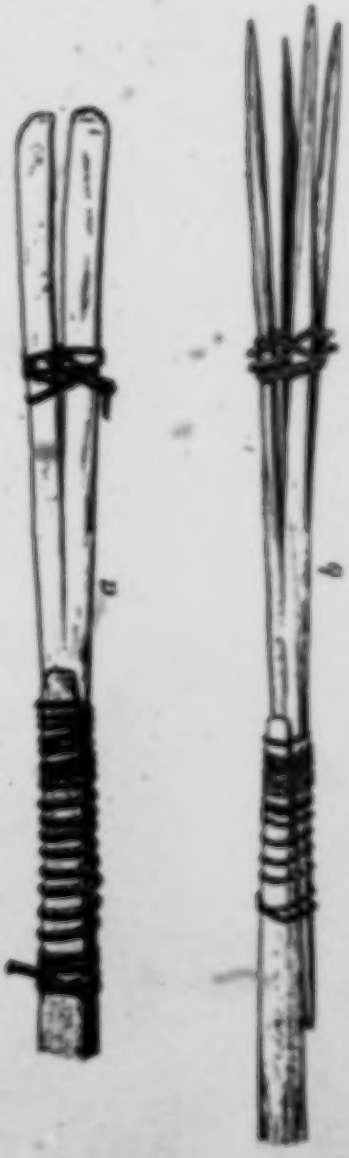

PIG. 84.—Yahgan hunter's spear (a) and crab-spear (b). Length of blade, [illegible] and 19½ in. (14/2271, 2272)

hunter climbed a tree over a guanaco runway in the woods and waited there until an animal passed beneath him.

The three spear types described all had bone points, specialized in type but of approximately the same length. To carry the extra points that might be needed were the one in use to become lost, the Yahgan employed a small case made of seal-hide with the hair side inward. Old-time containers were simply a rectangle of skin folded double and sewn up the side and bottom (fig. 83). In recent years the Yahgan have followed the pattern of the Ona quiver (fig. 33) and have inserted a small oval piece of hide at the bottom of the case.

4. CRAB AND SEA-URCHIN SPEAR.—As shown in fig. 79, *a*, this spear (abbreviated) was considerably longer than the other Yahgan spears, for it was designed to secure crabs and sea-urchins under water.

The shaft was not octagonal like the other spears considered, but was round. It was covered with minute flutes like the Ona bow, but they were not so carefully worked.

The head of the crab-spear (*shu*) was a piece of yellow barberry wood split at one